11: Leakey E-5 (no date) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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death taking place within the village. This means that as soon as a young or middle-aged person shows any signs of approaching death, he (or she) is hastily carried out into the bush outside the village and left to die there.

Should the death of a young or middle-aged person occur within the village the body must be carried out and thrown into the bush. The proper person to perform this last service is a son of the deceased, but if no son is available the body must be moved by a stranger (usually a member of the Wandorobo tribe, who is always willing to perform this work), and the fee for doing so is a heifer. The village must be moved as soon as possible after such an occurrence, but otherwise there is no purification ceremony.

Burial of Old People.—Only an old man, or a woman past child-bearing, is allowed to die peacefully in a hut in the village, and the body is then buried in the following way:—As soon as death occurs a ram or bullock is slaughtered and the fat used to anoint the body and clothes (sewn skins) of the individual. All ornaments are removed, and the burying-place is then prepared as follows: A spot in the bush not far from the village is selected and cleared and a hollow square of rough logs is then built up. This structure is usually about four feet square and three feet high. On the ground inside the structure the deceased's sleeping-skin is placed, and on it the body is laid (with the knees sufficiently bent to fit the space). Men are placed lying on their right sides, women on their left. The body is then covered by the various skin dresses owned by the deceased and left, no attempt being made to cover over the top of the structure with wood or earth in order to protect the body from scavenging animals.

About a month after the burial has taken place the village must be moved, with the exception of the hut in which the death took place. The hut is left to fall into ruin. Meanwhile, until the move takes place, any other occupants of the hut continue to live in it as before.

Ceremony at the Burial-place.—On the day that the village is finally abandoned every member of the village must file past the burial-place and the older people stop and drink beer and slaughter an ox there. My informants, however, insist that this is not a sacrifice to the departed spirit as among some other tribes, and as proof pointed out that they did not pour out any beer at the grave or leave any offering of meat.

Inheritance.—A man's possessions all pass to his male children, but if they are too young to take charge of them themselves the deceased's own brother, who acts *in loco parentis* (*see* Widowhood) looks after the property for them. In return for this he is allowed to retain a very small percentage of the stock.

A man's personal ornaments are put on his various children about two months after his death, with a certain amount of ceremonial and much beer-drinking. His weapons are kept for his sons until such time as they shall require them.

12: Fox G-5 (1925-1930) 1930 FL12 Masai FL12
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775 The Masai know nothing of a life after death, but it is thought that *Laibons* may live on in the form of black snakes.

768 If a death occurs in a hut it is not evacuated until the village moves in the ordinary way (the Masai being nomadic, seldom stay for long in one village). If, however, the village only moves to a new site close to the old one, the family in which the death has occurred must move further away and remain away for two or three months.

789 If a woman has lost her eldest male child she binds a few turns of iron wire below the knees of her next surviving son, in order to make him look like a girl[1] that death may pass him by. A man still wears these coils of wire even when he is old. Such a man is nicknamed *Ol o segingei* (the man of the iron wire).

765 If the head of the family dies a white or a black bullock is slaughtered, and the people smear the fat from the front of the ribs on their bodies and on the garments of the deceased.

757 *Sickness and Medicines.*—The Masai have their treatment for numerous diseases. Members of the Il Darsoero clan appear to be the most skilled in medicine. They have often shown me herbs which they use, but I have for the most part forgotten the Masai names for them, and lack of botanical knowledge prevents me from giving their scientific names. Such Masai as understand the use of herbs have never shown any reluctance to tell me about it.

Sheep's fat plays an important part in nearly all their medicines. For instance: (*a*) If a Masai is bitten by a mad dog (disease called by Masai *Nang'a gotok*, presumably rabies) a sheep must be immediately slaughtered and the fat boiled with bark of *Il Kiluretti* trees. The sufferer drinks this mixture and his skin is smeared all over with the contents of the sheep's stomach. This is said to be a certain preventive if done at once. I described the treatment in greater detail in an appendix to the Narok District Intelligence Report for April, 1929, and it is probably still on file in the Government office.

(*b*) *Anthrax* (Masai *Enderit*).—When this disease appears as an external sore a sheep is slaughtered and the sheepskin is bound round the affected part. The patient drinks the fat of the sheep. He must on no account be allowed to drink water or milk, and if he does so he is almost certain to die. This disease is fairly common among the Masai, but they usually recover from it. In the opinion of some Europeans the Masai treatment is more efficacious than ours.

773 *Honey Wine* (Masai *En-Aisho*).—This is much used at religious ceremonies and other occasions of importance. It is a very pleasant beverage. To make it, honey and water are mixed in about equal quantities in a special gourd called *E-Mosori*, literally "the egg." To this are added the dried fruits of the Sausage

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[1] Because girls wear leg ornaments of iron wire.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

and three old men. If it has not previously received a name, it may have been called by the name of its father's father; but at the naming ceremony it receives a name which may be that of its father or a name not connected with any relative. People are also given nicknames referring to their physical or other peculiarities. There is much uncertainty about Masai names; but every man has a patronymic, consisting of *O-le*, " son of," preceding his father's name; this he appears to assume after circumcision. Girls after circumcision may be referred to as *E-se*, " daughter of," preceding their fathers' name. At marriage, the husband gives his wife a new name. The practice of tecnonymy is a regular feature. Before the circumcision of his eldest son, a man becomes known as " the father of " So-and-so, i.e., if his son is called Sendeu, he becomes Menye Sendeu; his wife similarly becomes Ŋoto Sendeu, the mother of Sendeu.

The name of a dead child, woman, or warrior is not spoken again, and if the name is an ordinary word, that word is no longer used by the family. Thus, if a man called Ol-onana, " the gentle one," died, on his death the word *nana* would be replaced in his family by some such word as *polpol*, " smooth."

Circumcision (E-murrata)

Boys' circumcision ceremonies take place at intervals of about three years, and the circumcision period is " open " for about four years. Though the operation may be performed on boys singly or in small groups, the whole number of those circumcised at the same time throughout Masailand forms an associating group corresponding in some degree to the Nandi *mat* (see pp. 31 and 49). Judging by the published accounts, circumcision was a much less prolonged and ceremonious affair than among the Nandi. Before a boy can be circumcised, the father must submit to what is called *em-polosata e-sita*, " the passing of the fence." After making honey-wine, he stays alone in a small hut outside his kraal, dressed as a warrior. After four days, some elders bring him back to his kraal, where he is told to remove the warrior's clothes and become an old man. His son may then be circumcised.

Circumcision begins with the shaving and bathing of the initiate; in the afternoon after this has been done an ox or sheep is killed and eaten by the warriors and elders of the neighbourhood. On the second day, the boy cuts a tree called at this time *e-latim*,[21] which the girls of the kraal carry to the door of the hut [in which the boy sleeps?], where it is planted. On the third morning the boy gets up early and sits outside to get cold; after sunrise he is circumcised, the operator being often a Dorobo. From the fourth to the seventh day he remains at home, and then goes out, shooting with blocked arrows at the girls, and with other arrows at small birds which he wears hung from his head. This is his occupation till he has recovered: during this time he is known as *o-sipolioi* and wears the dress of a married woman, including the *i-surutia* ear-rings, and an ostrich-feather on his head. After recovery he is shaved, given weapons and warrior's clothes, and becomes *ol-barnoti*, " the shaved one," i.e., a junior warrior. Till his local company forms its *manyata*, he lives at home.

Girls undergo the operation of clitoridectomy in preparation for marriage. There are no special times for this. An ox or sheep is killed before the operation. During the period of recovery they are known as *e-sipolioi*, and wear on their heads a wreath of the Hyphæne palm, *ol-merisian*, or of grass, instead of an ostrich feather.

Age-sets

Unlike the cyclic age-sets of the Nandi division, those of the Masai are of linear type, that is, they do not work in recurring cycles and do not come into existence till they are required. Nevertheless, it is clear from the lists of Krapf (1854), Hollis (1905), and Fosbrooke (1948), as well as from the Taveta age-sets (Hollis, 1901), that some at least of the names are fixed and recur. In 1939 the names Il-Kisalie

[21] *Zizyphus mucronata*; normally called *ol olilaki*.

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585 her own. Where a jus primae noctis is customary -- frequent, but not general -- it belongs to one or two old comrades-in-arms of the young husband. One who does not grant the jus primae noctis when it is claimed is insultingly called ol alomŏni or ol ŏmischo (formed from a-lŏm, that is, refuse). He refuses others what they have a right to and must expect them to steal a few head of cattle from him in the next few days without his being entitled to raise a complaint about it. One who does not want to go along with this old custom, which is said to happen, has the wedding take place without any festivity, in order to avoid it. The bridegroom simply hands over the bride price, whereupon the bride, without any ceremony, follows
[591] him into his already completed hut. This dwelling lies either in the kraal of his father or in the warrior kraal occupied by the young husband up to then and remains there until all his age mates are married; only then do the married couple build their own kraal.

/49/ After the married couple have moved into their home, the wife may not leave it for the next two days. It is customary for the husband to present her with three cows and a bull during these days, and on the third day she accompanies this livestock to the pasture, but does not stay there. During the next three days the wife does no work; not until the fourth day does she start it, and to be sure, with the milk-
[822] ing of a plain black cow. According to the Masai explanation, the plain black is the symbol for quiet seriousness, whereas bright colors signify gaiety and lightheartedness. The woman is supposed to perform her duties with seriousness and not neglect them, lightheartedly rambling about, and make her husband angry by idle gossip.

768 587 If the marriage is dissolved by the husband's death, the widow may, if she is willing, become the property of his eldest brother or half brother; she may live with the former, whereas the latter may marry her legally after the expiration of three or four months. Upon
586 the death of the wife, the husband pays no compensation. A divorce may be brought about if the man drives out the woman or if the woman runs away from the man and refuses to return. In the first instance, the divorce is preceded by a family consultation in which the head of the family pronounces the divorce. The woman must

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766 [791] [613] [769] [778] stamped down firmly so that hyenas will not be able to dig up the grave. The chief's grave, as well as often the graves of the El kiboron old men, are crowned with a larger or smaller stone mound. Later, as a sign of veneration for the dead, Masai passing by will throw a few bunches of grass on the latter, whereas on the former, which is regarded as sacred, they from time to time pour a little milk as an offering.

766 791 Concerning the burial of Mbatyan, his son Zendeo told me the following: When the ol oiboni died, his large bodyguard was gathered around him, and immediately warriors set off in all directions, in order to bring the sad news to the kraals lying far from one another. From everywhere Masai came streaming in, the relatives of the deceased all appeared, down to the smallest infant. Every mourner brought a few fat-tailed sheep along, which, after a large herd was assembled, were slaughtered. Meanwhile the corpse had been laid out on a neat's skin. Beside this the closest relatives laid their leather aprons and others added theirs in a line ea. 100 paces long, the aprons being placed so that they formed a channel. Now the boiled-out fat was poured on the corpse and flowed along the channel. Then the body was buried, whereupon all the people brought grass and heaped a pile several meters high over the grave, which was then covered on the sides as well as on top with layered stones. In contrast to this description, there is a rumor circulating repeatedly among the people, according to which Mbatyan, several days before his death, in a state of mental derangement, is supposed to have secretly left the kraal at night and wandered about in the steppe, without the men of his guard, who had followed him, being able to find him. Then, when he was found on the fifth day, he was dead and his body already decomposed.

768 If in one kraal several young people or even children have died of some illness within a short time, it is abandoned, first because it is regarded as unlucky, but then also /203/ to enable the survivors to forget the sad event more easily. In such cases of death one can always observe deep sorrow among the relatives, whereas the death of old people, even own parents, is accepted more calmly. "The old ones are now resting, they sleep, their time has come."

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Upon the death of the father, his sons inherit the herd left behind, and, to be sure, each inherits from it the livestock that his mother had had the care and use of up to then. Since the man provides best for his principal wife and gives more livestock to her than to the other wives, her sons naturally inherit more than those of the other wives. The relatively largest part of the livestock is inherited by her eldest son, the principal heir. The livestock that a sonless woman has in her care is divided among the sons whose mothers live on the same side of the kraal, the center line of which is formed by the two entrances, as she does. The custom that the father distributes a not inconsiderable part of his livestock among his sons in boyhood is peculiar. It remains in the herd, however; it is only when the son moves into the warrior kraal that the father gives him a number of cows from it in order for him to be able to cover his needs in milk, and furthermore from time to time a head of cattle to slaughter. Thus the father actually reserves the right of disposal over the livestock, even though the sons designate it as belonging to them, and it is part of the legacy in the inheritance. The wives of the deceased actually pass into the possession of his elder brother, but as a rule continue to live with their sons. The other wives, who have no sons, nowadays not infrequently go back to their paternal home. The eldest son of the deceased takes the father's place for the surviving daughters, which in practice is expressed only in that he confers the consent for their marriage and the bride price will be paid to him. Upon the death of the mother, the daughters inherit her ornaments, and the household equipment used by the former up to now also passes to them. From the estate of a warrior, his brothers, preferably the older ones, receive his weapons and half of his livestock, while the other half goes to his father.